Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

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Spanish Fascists Join in Attacks On Yugoslavia

The Spanish fascists have launched a systematic campaign against Yugoslavia at the same time that large numbers of communist workers inside Spain are breaking away from Stalinism. The growing discontent with the Kremlin's policies was dramatized by the open letter addressed to the central committee of the Spanish Communist Party by Jose del Barrio, one of its ex-members.

In his letter, published in the Yugoslav CP paper **Borba**, Barrio voices his dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Soviet CP towards workers' and communist parties in general, and the Yugoslav party in particular.

Declaring that Yugoslavia's stand has caused a revolution in the thinking of the majority of Spanish communists, both those who reject and those who still accept the party's present policy, del Barrio writes that communists of all countries have been enriched by the ideological and political explanations made by Yugoslavia in countering the Soviet campaign.

FRANCO'S MOVES

"The fact is," del Barrio writes, "that 'Titoism' is an addition to Marxism. 'Titoists' are Marxists, and their movement is a march of events, and these events are new ones, and accordingly require elucidation. The Yugoslavs are finding explanations in the light of Marxism."

Del Barrio's statements cast further light upon Franco's crusade against Yugoslavia. Franco himself recently declared in a statement to a Mexican paper that Tito was more dangerous than Stalin. The Madrid press carries editorials and comments full of the most fantastic and reactionary accusations against Yugoslavia. Moreover, Franco has invited ex-King Peter of Serbia to come to Madrid and has placed at his disposal a broadcasting station so that he can speak by radio to the Yugoslavs.

WHAT MADRID FEARS

The disintegration of the Spanish CP is one of the principal motives behind this campaign, according to J. M. Creach, correspondent in Madrid for the French newspaper **Monde**. In an article published May 18, he writes:

"The breaking of the Spanish CP into less and less disciplined regional fragments has resulted in the slipping away from Moscow's control of Marxist elements uncompromisingly opposed to the Spanish regime. The underground Central Committee of the Spanish CP has even had to inform the Communist chiefs in Paris that henceforth it will be difficult for them to induce their ranks to execute directives serving the Kremlin's interests alone.

"The passive opposition of the working class to Franco's regime remains considerable. Madrid is asking whether the breakaway of a large fraction of the Spanish CP from Moscow will not place at the disposal of the workers cadres which may not be sizeable but are of prime quality. . . It is doubtful whether this national communism will ever manage to attract workers affiliated to the anarchist CNT. But it is believed that socialist sympathizers, especially among the great mass of unorganized, are quite ready to accept a communism in the image Tito has given it. . . "

As recently as June 2, the American **Daily Worker** defended the exclusion of the Yugoslavs from the coming world "peace" congress on the ground that to admit them would be like asking "the Franco government to appoint the delegates from Spain."

The world Stalinist press, which is so ready to couple Tito with Franco and other representatives of reaction, has carefully refrained from informing its readers of these declarations by Franco and his anti-Yugoslav campaign.

Labor, Vets Back Kutcher Benefit

NEW YORK CITY — The Jewish National Workers Alliance, the Bronx County Council of the American Veterans Committee, and AFL Painters Local 490 this week joined the many labor and liberal groups supporting the June 16 benefit dance sponsored by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

Organizations and individuals are sending greetings for a souvenir journal to be issued in connection with the dance at the Hotel Capitol, 51st St. and 8th Ave. Tickets are available at the KCRC office, 19 W. 10th St., and at the hotel banquet department.

Proceeds will be used to back the fight for justice for James Kutcher, legless veteran purged from his clerk's job with the Newark VA because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Supreme Court Refuses To Outlaw Segregation

The Future Belongs to the Youth

3 Rulings Leave "Separate But Equal" Doctrine Intact

Truman's Supreme Court, ruling in three test cases on June 5, refused to declare segregation of Negroes in the use of public facilities to be unconstitutional. It thereby continued to uphold its 54-year-old "separate but equal" doctrine that has meant, in practice, inferior and discriminatory treatment for the Negro people.

This point must be stressed from the start, for the capitalist press and even some misguided Negro leaders have hailed the court's decisions in the McLaurin, Sweatt and Henderson cases as a "ban on segregation."

The court ruled that the state of Texas must admit Heman Marion Sweatt, a Negro student, to the all-white University of Texas Law School, instead of forcing him to attend a new segregated Negro law school. The decision was made on the grounds that the education offered the appellant in the Negro school was not "substantially equal to that which he would receive if admitted to the University of Texas Law School."

BASIC ISSUE DUCKED

However, the court pointedly declared that it did not "need" to rule on the constitutional question of "separate but equal" treatment. Thus, Texas can still deny Negroes access to "white" universities if it provides them segregated schools deemed "equal" in the education offered.

Similarly, the court held that G. W. McLaurin, a University of Oklahoma graduate student, could not be kept separate in class rooms, dining rooms and other university facilities, on the grounds that "such restrictions impair and inhibit his ability to study." But the court maintained its "traditional reluctance to extend constitutional interpretations to situations or facts which are not before the court"—meaning its ruling applied only to this one case.

In the third case, the court held that a section of the Interstate Commerce Act had been violated when Elmer W. Henderson was refused a seat on a Southern Railway dining car except at a segregated curtained-off table. Implicit in this court ruling is the suggestion that if Congress altered the Interstate Commerce Act to specifically permit such segregation, then the railroad companies can continue their Jim Crow practices.

The court's ruling in the three cases does not affect in the slightest the pattern of Jim Crow segregation in public school systems, buses and street cars, theaters, hotels and restaurants, hospitals and clinics, residences and every other sphere of life, particularly in the South. Only a tiny number of Negro people ever get the opportunity to go to universities and eat in Pullman diners, anyway, so a broader decision on these cases would not have materially affected most Negroes.

REAL ATTITUDE

Even the slight concession represented in these rulings was a result of the tremendous pressure of the Negro people. No doubt the Truman administration will now try to use these decisions to cover up the Democratic Party's knifing of FEPC and the promised civil rights program.

On the very day the Supreme Court made its gesture in the university and railway cases, it revealed its real attitude toward segregation when it refused to hear an appeal against a Court of Appeals ruling that upheld the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's refusal to permit Negroes in its Stuyvesant Town housing project, which was built in part by New York City public funds.

Hit Nail on Head

WILLIAM E. BOHANNAN

SWP Candidate Predicted What Court Would Do

William E. Bohannan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 11th District in New Jersey, accurately predicted the main line that the Supreme Court would follow in the Sweatt, McLaurin and Henderson cases — more than two months ago.

Writing in the April 3 **Militant**, the SWP candidate explained that the Supreme Court "is just another department of the capitalist government, and its entire past record proves that it is just as devoted to Jim Crow as any other department. . .

"What they can do in these cases is rule that the plaintiffs did not get 'equal' facilities, order the Southern states to provide better Jim Crow facilities, and let it go at that, maintaining the system of segregation intact. Judging by their past decisions, that is what they will probably do."

By refusing to rule on the pernicious "separate but equal" doctrine, which the NAACP lawyers had asked it to do, the court certainly maintained the basic system of segregation. While it didn't order the South to provide better Jim Crow facilities, the obvious implication of its decisions was that if the South would do so, it could freely continue imposing the basic pattern of segregation on Negroes.

Rogge Barred from Speaking At Stalinist 'Peace' Meeting

Deepening of the rift between the Stalinists and non-Stalinists in the American Progressive Party and its youth movement was foreshadowed by the dispute over Yugoslavia that broke out at a meeting held in London last week by the executive committee of the Stalinist-dominated World Congress of the Defenders of Peace.

O. John Rogge, Wallaceite leader and a vice-president of the Congress executive committee, introduced a resolution calling for reinstatement of the Yugoslav Peace Committee. The Yugoslavs were expelled last summer, in line with the Kremlin's policy of driving them out of all organizations under its control.

While the executive committee did not act on Rogge's proposal, it in effect rejected it by referring it to a later session to be held in Paris this summer. But the hatchetmen of Stalinism, led by Paul Robeson, Rogge's fellow delegate from the U.S., went to work against Rogge personally without any delay.

Bitterly denouncing Rogge as a "paid lobbyist" for Yugoslavia, Robeson defended the exclusion of the Yugoslavs at a press conference by parroting the Kremlin line that "Yugoslavia has tied herself to the capitalist camp, which, at the behest of the du-Ponts and Wall Street, is preparing for a new war."

Rogge has not tried to hide his relationship with the Yugoslavs; he couldn't, even if he wanted to, because he is registered with the Department of Justice as counsel for the Yugoslav delegation to the UN. He had announced the association openly at a press conference in New York early last month. But apparently it was still news in Europe and the Stalinists made the most of it in an attempt to discredit his motives and steer attention away from the subject of the justness of the Yugoslav struggle for equality and independence.

CP's DOUBLE STANDARD

The hypocrisy and cynicism of their personal attacks on Rogge is underlined by the fact that the Stalinists themselves have retained and "paid" him as counsel in a large number of celebrated trials in this country, notably the cases of the Trenton Six, Harold Christoffel and the 28 Post Office victims of the "loyalty" purge.

In those cases the Stalinists never questioned Rogge's motives although he and his law firm were paid for their services, as they are today by the Yugoslavs. On the contrary, they had nothing but praise for his "courage" and "idealism"—before he decided to challenge their campaign against Yugoslavia.

When he submitted his resolution on Yugoslavia to the executive committee in London, Rogge says he told his fellow-members: "A peace movement or group must not become identified with the foreign policy of any particular country. I have in mind spe-

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"No" Vote on GM Pact Biggest Ever Recorded

The CIO United Auto Workers five-year no-reopening contract with General Motors has been ratified by a majority of GM union locals, it was reported on June 5 by T. A. Johnstone, director of the UAW's GM Department.

This was not unexpected news, since the contract had been previously approved by the GM delegates conference, whose decisions in the past have almost always been followed by virtually unanimous consent from the locals.

But there was no unanimity this time. Far from it. The largest and most bitter opposition ever registered against a proposed GM contract met the latest pact. This is the significant news about the ratification.

Johnstone gave incomplete returns on the vote results. Out of 117 locals, he said, 65 had voted approval, while 8 had voted to reject the contract. Returns from 44 locals were not reported by Johnstone.

The vote by units, however, does not disclose the full extent of the opposition. In many locals, the majority for ratification was narrow. The meetings were frequently prolonged battles, with the Reuther machine forced to bring all its pressure to bear to swing the vote in favor of approving the contract.

Among the locals which are reported to have rejected the contract are Toledo Chevrolet Local 14, with 1,200 members; Local 664 in North Tarrytown, N.Y., with 3,000 members in Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants; Local 595 in Linden, N.J., representing 2,500 members; and Locals 1005 and 1045, representing some 4,700 members in the Cleveland area.

The Toledo Chevrolet local won first union contract ever wrested from GM, in the historic strike of the spring of 1935. Its victory helped lay the foundation stone for the first national GM contract, won by the sit-down strike in 1937.

MAIN COMPLAINT

Opposition to the new contract was inspired principally by the five-year clause, which prevents the GM workers from making any new demands until 1955, while permitting the company to speed-up workers and raise man-hour output without restraint. There was strong resentment also against Reuther's failure to gain any improvement in the notoriously bad working conditions in GM plants.

The Reuther machine made no serious attempt to defend the contract as such. It pushed the pact over by playing on the membership's fear of a long strike.

What Capitalism Gives N.Y. Workers

One out of every four workers covered by the New York State Unemployment Insurance Law was unemployed sometime during the "benefit year" ending June 2, the State Labor Department reports. The number of those who totally exhausted their benefits of $10 to $26 weekly is expected to reach 260,000 in the final tabulation. This tops the previous "exhaustion" high of 247,717 in 1941-42, when the benefit period was only 13 weeks compared to 26 weeks now. Unemployment in New York City, the report adds, "has been on the upgrade for the last two months and is still rising."

5 UNIONISTS CONVICTED AT BELL AIRCRAFT TRIAL

BUFFALO, June 1 — County Judge John S. Marsh yesterday sentenced five unionists to a term of six months in the penitentiary following a conviction by a Niagara County jury on trumped-up charges of "conspiracy" and "rioting" in connection with the Bell Aircraft strike last fall.

UAW Regional Director Martin Gerber and sub-Regional Director Edward F. Gray were convicted on the "conspiracy" charge while the other three, Joseph Ippolito, Joseph Blackowicz and Donald Fried, were convicted for "rioting." The case against nine other defendants was dismissed earlier in the trial.

The trial, which lasted more than three weeks and heard over 100 witnesses, is one of the crassest examples of anti-labor justice meted out to striking unionists and their leaders in recent years.

PRESSURE ON JURORS

The odds were against the defendants from the beginning. They faced an obviously biased judge, and were tried in Niagara County, a sparsely populated farming community with few industrial workers, which had been whipped into an anti-strike frenzy by the local press and by agents of the Bell Corporation and Niagara County officials during the many weeks of militant struggle by the Bell workers.

In spite of all this, the jury was not easily pressured into returning a guilty verdict. After deliberating more than two days without reaching a decision, it remained deadlocked until summoned into court.

According to the **Buffalo Evening News** of May 25, "rumors of a deadlock were heard" and "informal word was conveyed to Judge Marsh." He thereupon, on his own motion, summoned the jury to the courtroom in an evident attempt to stampede them into a guilty verdict. When the clerk asked if the jury had reached a verdict, the reply was, "We have not. It is impossible to reach a verdict." It should be noted that the jury did not report mere difficulty in reaching a verdict but that it was "impossible" to reach one.

JUDGE'S STATEMENT

At this point it would have been normal judicial procedure for the judge to discharge the jury. However, Judge Marsh chose to do otherwise. "It is important for you to reach a verdict," he warned them. "This is an important case—no jury could render a more intelligent verdict... I am going to ask you to return to the jury room having in mind the importance of the case and the numerous issues involving the 13 defendants... I don't feel the court is unreasonable in asking you to return."

The jurors obviously took this to mean that they had to return a verdict, which under the circumstances of the case, clearly would be "guilty." Significantly enough, the judge did not instruct the jury that if they could not arrive at a verdict, they could report a disagreement, in which case they would be discharged.

At this point defense attorney Charles McDonnough took the exception to the judge's instructions and moved that the court instruct the jury that they "could report a disagreement." In flagrant disregard of the defense attorney's request, the judge merely replied: "I have told the jury to bring in a fair, sound and proper verdict." In fact, he had virtually jammed down the throat of the jury the

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War Spending to Increase, Acheson Admits

By Art Preis

A heavier and heavier burden of war spending and debt on the people of the United States and Western Europe was demanded last week by Truman and Acheson. That is the first fruit promised by what Acheson called a program of "peace" through "development of military strength."

This program was proclaimed by the Truman administration in calling on Congress to appropriate another $1,222,500,000 for arming American imperialism's allies in the cold war and in subjugating colonial peoples.

Testifying on the foreign arms program before the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees, Acheson replied to a question on whether the country could look forward to lower arms spending in the future:

"I think that the most honest answer would be that in the immediate future it might be increased... we have to put more, rather than less, effort into the defense field."

Acheson also indicated that the people of Western Europe are going to be bled white to help finance the war preparations, when he said "our European partners are progressively devoting more funds to their defense budgets."

MORE TAXES AHEAD

At the same time, W. Averill Harriman, U.S. "special ambassador" for the Marshall Plan, warned the European people that "sacrifices will have to be made to support the level of military protection that has been decided upon."

Thus, the administration has made clear to the people of Europe as well as America that the promise of "welfare" and "higher living standards" is to be spelled out in more taxes, diversion of more labor and raw materials into arms production, scarcity, inflation and militarism.

The administration also revealed that the recent conference of the imperialist military alliance has resulted in American commitments to go to war that go far beyond even the agreements in the North Atlantic pact.

This is the program of "balanced collective forces" combining the armed forces of the western capitalist countries into one military machine. Acheson called this a development "of great and perhaps revolutionary significance."

This "revolutionary significance" was explained by the June 4 **N.Y. Times** as "a deeper commitment to mutual aid against aggression than that of the Atlantic Treaty itself. The treaty provides that in the event of attack each partner shall 'take such action as deemed necessary.' But under a collective defense an attack on say, France, which would have most of her strength on the ground, would bring the U.S. under powerful moral compulsion to send in air and naval forces. This impinges upon Congress' power to declare war."

Not only is the Truman administration committing the country to plunge automatically into any war in which any of the 11 other Atlantic Pact partners may become involved, but Truman also demanded that Congress remove the present limitations on his power to send or sell arms and military equipment to other countries without specific Congressional approval. Truman asked for virtually unlimited personal power to "cope with emergencies" by sending arms to any country he sees fit at any time. This would amount to giving Truman war-making powers.

That the administration and Congress are concealing the most important facts about the war aims and preparations from the American people was indicated at two points in the hearings.

Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson was asked by Senator Connally, "Who's going to determine whether an 'armed attack,' which would call all these treaty countries to defense action, had been committed?" Johnson clammed up and said he would answer such a question only in a closed meeting.

When Acheson was asked for a breakdown of the countries which would get the $75 million in arms requested for countries "close to China," Acheson said it was a "secret fund" which he would discuss only in a "closed session" of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In its drive for more foreign arms appropriations, the Truman administration showed how it acts when it really wants some measure passed. Truman didn't go fishing down in Florida, as he did when FEPC and other measures of social welfare were being debated. He, his Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and Chief of Staff, and all his lieutenants in Congress, were mobilized on the scene, aggressively demanding action on the war program.

Socialist Party Convention Rejects Norman Thomas' Proposals

By George Breitman

In an unexpected move, the national convention of the Socialist Party meeting in Detroit June 2-4, decisively rejected the Norman Thomas leadership's proposal to abandon independent electoral activity and in effect become a left wing of the Democratic Party.

The Thomas resolution, supported by a majority of the National Executive Committee, was voted down by 70 to 37. It was beaten by a coalition composed of supporters of the former NEC minority, headed by National Chairman Darlington Hoopes of Reading, and of the "third position" group, led by Irving Barshop of New York.

Their resolution, which the convention adopted by 64 to 42, declared that the SP's participation in national campaigns was necessary for " our political survival as an entity which attracts some measure of journalistic and popular attention, and for the educational opportunity it brings."

The victorious resolution also laid down the line that "No local, state or national committee shall be permitted under any circumstances to endorse, enter into a coalition with, campaign for, or in any other manner assist in the election of candidates running on either the Democratic or Republican tickets or in their primaries."

The same ban on support of old party candidates applies to individual party members, whether or not a Socialist is running for the office involved, and to the work of party members belonging to the CIO and AFL political committees and the Americans for Democratic Action.

This explicit rejection of the main points in the Thomas proposal was accompanied by certain provisions that leave open the question of whether or not the SP will actually continue to engage in election campaigns in some of the areas where they have been traditional.

The Hoopes-Barshop resolution concedes that it is not to be interpreted as encouraging "a futile running of candidates as a ritual." It adds: "The national convention should decide on presidential campaigns, state bodies in consultation with the National Executive Committee on state offices, and so down to the lowest offices."

In practice, these provisions could turn out to mean electoral abstention in many states controlled by supporters of the Thomas position. Barshop had from the beginning of the pre-convention discussion taken the view that SP electoral activity should be limited "to those localities where we can be effective **in terms of votes polled,**" a view toward which the resolution makes clear concessions. (Barshop's position would favor changing the criterion for deciding on campaigns from the number of people who might be **reached** by election propaganda to the number of people who might be **convinced** by it.)

Despite these and other weaknesses in the convention resolution, it represented an overwhelming defeat for the Thomas machine which has had more or less complete control of the party leadership and apparatus for the last decade and a half.

DEFEAT FOR THOMAS

Thomas himself used every means at his disposal to try to get his position adopted. His supporters in such states as Michigan and New Jersey attempted to prejudice the decision by demonstratively abstaining from the election campaigns in those states this year. On the first day of the convention, Thomas, taking advantage of the fact that he is the party's only nationally known spokesman, gave notice that under no circumstances could he be prevailed on to accept the SP presidential nomination in 1952.

Since no one had asked him about this, it obviously constituted his way of telling the convention that it had better go along with his position or put itself in the position of risking an even worse fiasco in the 1952 campaign than in previous ones.

The convention repudiated Thomas organizationally as well as politically. The delegates adopted a resolution expressing their "faith in Norman Thomas as the spokesman for American socialism" but they themselves didn't seem to display much faith either in his policies or his supporters. The New National Executive Committee elected in Detroit has only three supporters of the Thomas policy, including Thomas himself, eight opponents of that policy, and two who are not committed.

The convention decision came as a real surprise not only to outside observers but to many SP members. It had been believed that Thomas' authority was so great within the party that he would be able to get a large plurality, if not majority, over the two other main groups.

But a number of factors combined to upset these predictions. A major contributing element was undoubtedly the sincere desire of the majority of the rank and file to continue to function as an independent party espousing socialism, no matter how reformist, in opposition to the capitalist parties.

The more opportunist members of the party have been dropping out one by one to take jobs with the labor bureaucrats and the State Department. Most of those who have remained members because they want an independent party were shocked by the blatancy of the Thomas proposal, which hardly bothered to conceal its pro-capitalist party orientation. They reacted instinctively against it and in favor of the traditional policy.

Another important factor was the virtually unanimous stand against the Thomas position taken by the Reading Local, which is representative of the three or four areas where the SP either plays a very important part in local politics or even has control of local administrations.

The leaders of the local party machines, like Hoopes, strongly favor the running of national election campaigns primarily because they regard them as necessary to maintain the prestige and morale of the local apparatus. When these people voted against the Thomas policy, it was mainly because they felt that in the long run his policy would have a harmful effect on their own local activity.

In addition, it would probably be wrong to underestimate the effect of inertia on the reaction of many members—a factor which inevitably plays a large part in an organization that is notable for the general inactivity and apathy of its membership.

Despite the progressive aspects of the Thomasite defeat, the problems of the SP are far from solved and its future remains as uncertain and unpromising as before. It seems certain that the party will lose some more of its already small membership; National Secretary Harry Fleischman, Thomas' chief lieutenant, refuses to serve in that post beyond next August, and other Thomasites will surely drift away to engage in what they call more "realistic" politics.

Certain union bureaucrats who had been getting friendlier will become more cool and reserved. The public prestige of the party will be further lowered by the knowledge that its only national spokesman favors going over into the Democratic Party.

But an even more critical question facing the new majority of the NEC, and which they cannot escape for long, is the one that was implicit in the Thomas proposal: If socialism is nothing but a conglomeration of reforms such as are promised by Truman's Fair Deal (and that is all it is to Thomas) then what need is there really for an independent party and independent candidates?

Unless the SP finds the answer to this question through a revolutionary re-evaluation of its entire political program, then the Thomas proposal is going to crop up again and again in one form or another and the party will sink into further demoralization and isolation.

Another consequence of the convention decision will be the postponement (perhaps permanently) of unification with the Social Democratic Federation. All wings of the SP had voted enthusiastically last year for merger with the SDF, which is already functioning as a wing of the Democratic Party.

But the SDF leaders, bureaucratically disregarding the wishes of a membership referendum, drew back at the last minute and called off unity negotiations for the time being. If it had not been for this unforeseen development, unity of the two Social Democratic groups could have been effected this year, with the Thomas proposal receiving an easy majority in the merged organization.

The eagerness of ALL the SP leaders to unite with the SDF provides a truer index to their politics than anything said or done at the Detroit convention. For the Hoopes-Barshop leadership's support of unity with the SDF demonstrated in practice their readiness under certain conditions to embrace the most reactionary features of the Thomas proposal.

Next Week:

Vivienne Goonwardene, member of a Ceylon trade union delegation that recently visited Yugoslavia, has just written a series of articles on her impressions of conditions in that country. The first will appear next week.

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Ernest Germain's column, European Notebook, which appears regularly on this page, arrived too late to be translated in time for this issue. It will resume next week with a revealing report on a strike movement that broke out in Stalinist - controlled Hungary a few weeks ago.

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Also: articles on the ILGWU, NAACP, California farm labor, Bolivia, etc.

The nation's top brass are shown before the Senate Armed Services Committee urging extension of the draft law. While Defense Secretary Louis Johnson adds his approval, Gen. Omar Bradley (L.), Gen. J. Lawton Collins and Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey listen with great interest.

Letters from Our Readers

A Debt of Gratitude To Oscar Coover

Editor:

The letters you printed to the memory of Oscar Coover were all written by people who had the pleasure of his companionship many more times than I did, but I feel that none owes him the deep debt of personal gratitude that I do, because his qualities of patience, warmth and understanding were responsible for my finding myself.

Twelve years ago, when I was traveling from the West Coast to my home in the South, I stopped in Minneapolis, where I met Oscar. I had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party on the West Coast, but because of lack of experience in workers' movements and isolation, when I returned home I began moving rapidly away from the party and Socialism, without being aware of the fact. I was one of those people who read the paper and talked Socialism to anyone who appeared at all interested, but less and less understood party life.

However, when I felt my confusion on certain questions, I would write to Oscar for clarification. He, I felt, was a person who would understand the reasons for my questions, which would have seemed terribly stupid and not worth answering to most other people with any political understanding. Twice I wrote him. First, I tried to get some understanding of the trade union movement. He very patiently explained to me that people only learn about unionism in the union movement, a lesson which I did not very well learn at that time.

But the patience and warmth of his letter gave me confidence to write to him when I again sensed my confusion. That was the time the Shachtmanites were starting their campaign to take over our party, to make it a debating society for intellectuals. The one thing I did do, was to read our paper (it was the **Socialist Appeal** then) very carefully. I noticed that something had happened to it. It was not as well written as it had been. So I wrote another long letter to Oscar.

He answered and told me about the internal situation. More important, he said he had thought I was a member of the party, and enclosed an application card with the necessary endorsements, advising me to rejoin. I did and from then on, from time to time was contacted by comrades coming through the South and learned to understand and became part of the party.

After that I had the pleasure of meeting Oscar once again. When I returned from Europe after the war, I visited the Michigan camp. There I met him again, where his qualities were being put to the best possible use. Oscar ran the camp so efficiently and quietly that it seemed to run itself. Here I was brought more completely into the party. This was largely due to the work of other comrades, but Oscar's warm understanding, again, was a great help in setting me right.

We can no longer see or hear the Cat, but his memory lives with us as a guide and inspiration.

Dick Clarke

Eight-Week Camp For Children at Mountain Spring

Working parents will be happy to learn that plans and facilities are ready for an eight-week vacation season for boys and girls from 5 to 10 years of age at Mountain Spring Camp at Washington, New Jersey. The supervised children's camp will open July 5 and close Aug. 30. Children with parents can be accommodated at the adult camp for the July 4 and Labor Day weekends as well as at other times.

Two large, completely screened and floored tents are set apart from the adult camp for the children's sleeping accommodations; and one for play and workshop. A playground with swings, seesaws, monkey-bars, sand box and wading pool, plus a roped-off section of the pond, is exclusively reserved for the children.

Full time supervision by qualified teachers and counsellors will insure the best care and lots of fun for the young campers. Arts and crafts, nature studies, music, dancing, swimming and other sports and games will be part of the summer program. The rate of $25 per child per week covers all expenses, including laundry.

The camp is only two hours from New York and Philadelphia by car or bus.

Parents who plan to take advantage of this opportunity to have their children enjoy a wonderful summer in the country are urged to send in their reservations immediately, whether they plan to send the child for a week, a month or the entire eight week season. Write for further information and reservations to Mountain Spring Camp, RD 1, Washington, N. J.

READER GIVES THE MILITANT FUND $252 IN MEMORY OF OSCAR COOVER

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Contributions during the week from readers and friends of **The Militant** and Socialist Workers Party branches to the $10,000 fund totaled $1,348—the biggest weekly total since the campaign was launched. This raises the national total to $4,843 through June 6, which is 48% of the goal to be reached by July 15.

A close associate and comrade of Oscar Coover sent in $252 with the following note: "Upon receiving an insurance payment of $252, I could not think of any better way of using it than to contribute the entire sum to the Militant Fund Campaign in Oscar Coover's memory. I know how much each party campaign meant to him and feel that he would have been pleased if the money was used for the paper spreading the ideas to which he dedicated his life. There is no need to mention my name because I would rather have it under his."

This and other contributions from readers, who want to make sure **The Militant** continues to appear regularly, jumped the "General" quota from 17% to 57%.

C. Z. of **New York** renewed his **Militant** subscription and used this opportunity to send in $16 for the Fund. **T.B., W.B.C. and F.N.,** all of **New York City,** sent in $1, $5, and $2 respectively.

Among the SWP branches, **Pittsburgh** still stands alone in the 100% spotlight. **Flint** is just $22 short of moving in with Pittsburgh.

A $40 payment from **St. Paul** put the **Twin Cities** in third place with 64%.

In addition to the above three branches, **Lynn, New York,** and **Newark** are ahead of schedule in the campaign, having achieved more than 58% of their quotas.

There was considerable jockeying for positions during the week. Two payments from Buffalo totaling $73 shot this branch from twelfth place to tie **West Virginia** in eighth place with 52%.

Chicago bettered its position by two places with a $30 payment, reaching 49% of its quota.

B. Jay, who has recently been placed in charge of finances in **San Francisco,** sent in a $257 payment, which pulled the branch from a low scoreboard position up to 47%.

Milwaukee made a big gain with a $35 payment, tying **Connecticut** with 43%.

A payment of $288 moved **Los Angeles** up to 40%.

In addition, we heard from **Youngstown** with a $60 payment, **Worcester** $5, **Cleveland** $60, **Detroit** $70.

Even though some of the branches are low in percentage, letters accompanying weekly payments assure all quotas being paid IN FULL AND ON TIME.

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Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Pittsburgh	$ 150	$ 150	109
Flint	175	153	87
St. Paul-Minneapolis	750	478	64
Lynn	50	30	60
New York	2,500	1,500	60
Newark	350	205	59
Buffalo	400	207	52
West Virginia	25	13	52
Chicago	350	170	49
Boston	175	84	48
San Francisco	700	326	47
Toledo	50	22	45
Connecticut	35	15	43
Milwaukee	150	64	43
Los Angeles	1,300	521	40
Youngstown	350	120	34
Philadelphia	300	100	33
Worcester	30	10	33
Cleveland	250	80	32
St. Louis	50	15	30
Akron	75	20	27
Oakland	100	25	25
Detroit	800	120	15
Allentown	40	5	13
Seattle	150	15	10
General	695	395	57
Total through June 6	**$10,000**	**$4,843**	**48**

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent **Dixon Woods** of **San Francisco** reports that consistent sales of **The Militant** at a Stalinist - dominated union appear to be showing results.

Recently a Negro Stalinist and his friend started a discussion "by accusing us of being white supremacists. Our reply was that they obviously had not read **The Militant** and that the very issue I was distributing carried the story from Seattle of the Negro student who was expelled from the Communist Party for defending the Trotskyists' right to distribute their literature outside a CP meeting.

"Then they asked us, why don't we support 'progressive' causes like the Wallaceite party, etc. When we replied that we don't support any capitalist political parties, any more than we would the boss in a strike, that all capitalism is reactionary today and ripe for socialist revolution, they were really taken aback, especially when we cited Wallace's rotten record on the Negro question.

"Quite a crowd had gathered around to hear the discussion at that point, so one of the Stalinist bureaucrats in the union came outside and asked his comrade to come inside. But his friend, a Stalinist sympathizer, stayed and talked with **Jimmy K.** for quite a while, even after the crowd had dispersed and I had left. His final remark to Jimmy was: 'What I want then, is a Trotskyite-Communist government.' Which is quite a jump from accusing us of being white supremacists!"

* * *

D. P. of **Duluth,** Minn., writes that preliminary efforts to bring **The Militant** to the attention of Yugoslav-Americans living in his city have proved encouraging. These workers show a definite interest in a working class paper that exposes the attempts of Stalin and Wall Street to dominate Yugoslavia.

* * *

Here's a suggestion from **R. S. B.** of **Colombo, Ceylon:** "Why not print a booklet of Laura Gray's cartoons? With small explanatory notes or comments it would make a best seller. I suggest that, because one of the local newspapers did that with their cartoonist's work. The price was high but it sold like hot cakes. Gray is far more powerful and a proletarian propagandist. If it is feasible, why not try it?"

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MARXISM AND THE NEGRO

Another issue of **Fourth International** you'll enjoy from cover to cover! A whole issue on one of the most important problems facing America, the struggle for Negro equality. Gives you a sweeping vision of the mighty social forces in conflict today in our country and how they affect the fight against Jim Crow. Explains the tie-up between labor's battles and those of the Negro people. Tells you about the great contributions the Negro people have made in the struggle for a better world. Forecasts the still greater contributions they are destined to make in the future. All in the May-June issue of **Fourth International:**

1. Equality Under the Welfare State

The editors of **Fourth International,** theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, put Truman's civil rights program on the dissecting table and show you what the insides really look like. Not a pleasant sight but highly educational!

2. Stalinism & Negro Intellectuals

Fred Hart discusses the powerful attraction Marxism has for Negro thinkers. It comes from their thirst for a scientific explanation of a society that rejects them because of the color of their skin. But Marxism and Stalinism are two different things and if you mix them up the pay-off is disaster to the struggle for full equality. Hart tells the real score about Paul Robeson and calls for new leaders to follow the revolutionary tradition of Frederick Douglass.

3. Negro Workers and the CIO

An expert on trade union problems, C. Thomas, takes up the big gains Negro workers have made in the struggle for equality in the organized labor movement. Thomas pulls no punches in his exposure of the resistance many top union bureaucrats are putting up to full Negro representation. You can't lick Taft-Hartleyism, says Thomas, without battering down Jim Crow prejudices and getting together on the political field against the Republican-Democrat coalition.

4. The NAACP at the Crossroads

This should be read by everyone interested in winning the struggle for Negro equality because it deals with a problem bigger than the NAACP — the problem of effective leadership. After spectacular growth, the NAACP within three years has lost half its membership. What is the reason for this ominous decline? Can it be remedied? Read the thought-provoking answer by Jean Blake.

5. W.E.B. Du Bois and His Work

In a study that is more than a high tribute to the 81-year-old Negro leader, William Gorman considers the great life-time problem faced by Du Bois. It is the same central problem faced by every Negro of great talent concerned about the fate of his people. The portrait of Du Bois is the portrait of the Negro thinker in twentieth-century America. How close did Du Bois come to finding the correct answers? Every student of Du Bois will appreciate this realistic appraisal of their gifted teacher. And if you have not yet got acquainted with Du Bois' works, we recommend this article as an introduction that's hard to beat.

6. Two Lessons of Reconstruction

The well-known Marxist writer, William F. Warde, needs no introduction to regular readers of **Fourth International,** who have already acclaimed his illuminating articles on phases of American history ignored or distorted by capitalist-minded historians. Focussing on the Reconstruction period in the South following the Civil War, Warde outlines the struggle between the Negro people and the former slaveholders, showing that the only time the Negroes in the South enjoyed democracy was under a dictatorship directed against the dealers in human flesh. From these decisive events, Warde draws two lessons of crucial importance in today's struggle for Negro equality. What are these two lessons? Learn the answers in this Marxist study.

7. Negro Liberation Through Revolutionary Socialism

This is a resolution outlining the position of the Socialist Workers Party on the Negro struggle. We invite you to read the platforms of all the other political parties and compare them with this resolution. Then you'll understand what we mean when we say that the Trotskyists try to practice what they preach. If you're tired of the syrup and the lies, the gladhand rush and the run-around you'll appreciate the blunt truth that's in this resolution. A basic analysis of the real place of the Negro people in America and the tremendous economic and social forces now shaping a brilliant future for them hand in hand with labor as leaders of the American people in moving forward to the bright new world of socialism.

You'll want to keep this issue of Fourth International for study and future reference. When your friends want to borrow your copy, give them an extra one. They'll appreciate your forethought. You can get extra copies for only 20 cents each in bundles of five or more. Send the coupon in today.

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TROTSKY

"The Socialist who aids directly or indirectly in perpetuating the privileged position of one nation at the expense of another, who accommodates himself to colonial slavery, who draws a line of distinction between races and colors in the matter of human rights, who helps the bourgeoisie of the metropolis to maintain its rule over the colonies instead of aiding the armed uprising of the colonies; the British Socialist who fails to support by all possible means the uprisings in Ireland, Egypt and India against the London plutocracy — such a Socialist deserves to be branded with infamy, if not with a bullet, but in no case merits either a mandate or the confidence of the proletariat."

— Leon Trotsky, First Five Years of the Comintern, 1920.

LENIN

Getting Truman "Off the Hook"

"Fair Deal Democrats are toasting Chief Justice Vinson and his associates with fervor. They believe that the court [by its decisions in the Sweatt, McLaurin and Henderson segregation cases] has taken the Truman administration off the hook on civil rights for the present. They say they are not now obliged to make a sacrificial effort to pass the compulsory FEPC law and thus prolong the session [of Congress] when they want to be campaigning." So writes Washington columnist Doris Fleeson in the June 7 N. Y. Post in a report on "the immediate political effects" of the court's decisions.

The political effects — taking the Trumanites "off the hook on civil rights" — were of course the paramount consideration behind the court's action. It's all part of a fancy maneuver to make the Negro people think they are getting, or about to get, some real concessions. But in essence it is only another gesture — a gesture to give the appearance of basic action against segregation, while in reality withholding the substance of such action.

The shysters on the bench no longer dare to uphold segregation openly. At the same time they have no intention of fundamentally upsetting or undermining the Jim Crow system which the ruling class has fostered and profited from for so many decades. So they got around the dilemma by tossing the Negroes a few crumbs as a result of which a few Negroes may have a better chance of getting into a "white" university or a seat in a dining car down South. And at the same time they turned a deaf ear to the NAACP's plea that they outlaw the court's "separate but equal" doctrine — the main constitutional prop of segregation.

No wonder that when the court decisions were announced, Chief Justice Vinson, according to one commentator, "looked like a genial cat who had swallowed a particularly juicy canary." Vinson (and Truman) had every reason to be satisfied with themselves. It was a case of two birds being killed without any stones.

The fight against segregation will have to continue. And it will make faster progress if all deceptive claims about the "benevolent" attitude of the capitalist government and all its institutions are vigorously challenged and effectively exposed. The Negro people are going to remain the victims of segregation until doomsday if they make the mistake of depending on Truman and the courts. Only the militant, independent action of the Negroes and their labor and liberal allies will overturn the Jim Crow system that has been left untouched by the latest court decisions.

"Democracy"-- MacArthur Style

In the name of preserving "Japan's democratic institutions," Gen. Douglas MacArthur on June 6 sent the following order to Premier Shigeru Yoshida: "I direct that your Government take the necessary administrative measures to remove and exclude the following persons . . . from public service and render them subject to the prohibitions, restrictions and liabilities of my directives on Jan. 4, 1946, and their implementing ordinances."

There followed the names of the 24 members of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, including seven elected members of Parliament.

What first strikes the eye about this order to preserve "democracy" is that it calls for "administrative measures" to deprive persons of their civil rights and subject them to punishment and restrictions which the occupation authorities originally decreed for "war criminals." That is, these persons are to be convicted and penalized without trial by jury.

MacArthur's order covers not only appointive government jobs — in which sense he is merely imitating Truman's "loyalty" purge of government workers in this country — but all "public service," which includes elective offices.

Hence he establishes the policy that elected officials may be removed from public office by mere executive decree. Not the democratic will of the electorate is to determine who sits in Parliament, but the Japanese Premier acting under MacArthur's supervision. Whenever MacArthur doesn't like persons elected by the Japanese people, he just orders the Japanese government to kick them out.

But the real irony and hypocrisy of MacArthur's order lies in those words "I direct" and "my directives." Here is a foreign military ruler, backed by armed forces, handing out arrogant orders to the head of the Japanese government as though the latter were an office boy.

To speak of preserving "Japan's democratic institutions" in such an order from such a person under such conditions, is a piece of depraved cynicism. The fact that a Gen. MacArthur is even in Japan and issuing any kind of order at all tells us the true nature of the "democratic institutions" there.

So long as the U. S. armed forces and occupation authority remain, the Japanese people must be considered a subject nation ruled by a foreign military dictatorship. Democracy for them will just begin when they are freed of the foreign yoke and can decide their own fate.

Revive the Scottsboro Fight

The publication of **Scottsboro Boy**, the book by Haywood Patterson and Earl Conrad (reviewed in last week's **Militant**), has revived interest in the 19-year old Scottsboro case and in action to win pardons for the two victims of that frame-up who are still wanted by the Alabama authorities.

I. F. Stone, crusading columnist of the N. Y. **Daily Compass** who helped get **Scottsboro Boy** published, has called for the formation of a national committee that will work to win pardons for Haywood Patterson, a fugitive, and Clarence Norris, wanted for violation of parole; and for "the cleanup of the prisons and prison camps in which human beings, black and white, are driven like doomed creatures on slops of food the pigs turn away from."

The Militant hails Stone's proposal and urges the widest possible support for such a campaign by the labor, liberal and Negro movements. Stone has gone to Alabama to investigate the situation. His initial reports from there indicate that there is little chance for action in Alabama unless the pardon campaign for Patterson and Norris receives the backing of a powerful mass movement such as saved the lives of the Scottsboro boys at the beginning of the case.

Militant mass action is the only effective method for fighting capitalist injustice. This was proved positively when the Scottsboro victims were saved from the electric chair in the early 30's; and it was demonstrated negatively in the mid-30's when the then existing Scottsboro defense movement, abandoning the method of mass action, made a deal to withdraw the case from the courts in return for a promise, later broken, that the governor of Alabama would pardon the remaining prisoners. A new defense movement should be guided by the dearly paid-for lesson of that experience.

The labor and Negro movements are much stronger today than they were at the start of the Scottsboro case; their duty toward the remaining defendants, who were subjected to indescribable suffering for so many years because of the stupidity and timidity of the official defense movement, is correspondingly greater. Rank and file militants should see to it that their organizations fulfill their obligation to conduct unceasing activity to insure unconditional freedom for the last of the Scottsboro boys.

GE Vote in Cleveland Follows National Trend

CLEVELAND, JUNE 3 — **Over 3,000 General Electric employees, members of Amalgamated Local 707, went to the polls here last week to choose between the IUE-CIO and the Stalinist- led independent United Electrical Workers.**

The results showed nearly a two-to-one majority voting for the CIO, but following the pattern in the rest of the country this was by no means an overwhelming victory.

The five major General Electric plants in Cleveland were split into 23 separate bargaining units. Twelve of these units were won by the IUE; four by the UE; and in the remaining seven, the results were indecisive, requiring a run-off vote.

The principal factor which distinguished the election campaign here from that conducted in most parts of the country was the almost complete absence of red-baiting. The incumbent officers of Local 707 were elected a year ago in a straight trade union campaign against the previous Stalinist leadership. In that election campaign, which they won by a two-to-one majority, they refrained from all red-baiting, rejecting the "anti-Communist" label and referred to themselves as "non-Communist." This was done consciously and deliberately to distinguish themselves from the red-baiters.

The events and pressures of the last year and a half have not fundamentally altered the attitude of the local leaders on the question of red-baiting. The IUE-CIO, under the leadership of Local 707 President David Fitzmaurice, conducted a clean, hard - hitting campaign on the fundamental trade union issues involved.

STALINIST COMPLAINT

The Stalinist UE leaders, recognizing the effectiveness of such a campaign, issued a leaflet, reproaching Fitzmaurice for not red-baiting them, since this was the issue on which they were thrown out of the CIO and on which the IUE International was conducting the campaign. They intimated that Fitzmaurice should stick to the main issue.

Throughout the GE campaign, the IUE locals were deluged with bundles of slick - printed folders and leaflets from the Washington office of the IUE. Some of these were on trade union issues but most of them were hysterical red-white-and-blue red - baiting material. Only in the last days of the campaign did the local IUE distribute any of this material, and then only a couple of the mildest ones.

The correct behavior of the local IUE leadership was partly cancelled by the right-wing CIO officials from other unions whom they allowed to participate in some of the election campaign activities. The IUE leaders undoubtedly were under a great deal of pressure on this matter from their International as well as the regional and local CIO offices.

Particularly flagrant were the activities of Bill Donovan, ACTU District Director of the goon-ridden CIO Steel Workers. Donovan made speeches at IUE stewards meetings which were filled with red-baiting and were direct incitements to acts of physical violence against UE leaders and supporters.

REPERCUSSIONS

Though Donovan had no apparent effect upon the official program and propaganda of the IUE leadership, his speeches had repercussions which probably cost the IUE the biggest unit of Local 707.

John Theil, UE business agent and a worker from the East 45th Street Euclid Lamp Works, was beaten up three days before the election. Theil could not identify his attackers and it is still not known who they were.

It is a practical certainty that the IUE local leadership had nothing whatever to do with it. Fitzmaurice issued a statement to the newspapers, deploring physical attacks on individuals and offering a $25 reward for their apprehension. This was not adequate, however. The apparently casual handling of the Thiel beating by the IUE leaders and the widespread knowledge of Donovan's incitements to violence combined to defeat the IUE in Thiel's home plant, the largest single bargaining unit in yesterday's election here.

The IUE victory here was by no means conclusive and the IUE-UE struggle was not settled by yesterday's election. The outcome of this struggle will depend upon the future evolution of the local IUE leadership, who will have to resist the heavy pressures of the local ACTU - CIO officials, the Stalinists and the company, to keep from being pushed to the right.

'ROYAL QUESTION' UNSETTLED DESPITE BELGIAN ELECTION

By Charles Hanley

When the three main Belgian parties failed to reach an agreement following the inconclusive referendum on the "royal question," Prince-Regent Charles dissolved Parliament, and new elections were held on June 4.

Although polling only 48% of the popular vote, the Social Christian (Catholic) Party won a small over-all majority in Parliament. It now has 108 representatives, compared with a total of 104 Socialists, Liberals and Stalinists. But this was no great Leopoldist victory. In the March 12 referendum the Leopoldists got a majority of 57%; on June 4 the only party pledged to unconditional support of Leopold got only 48%.

The Catholics gained 165,000 more votes than in the 1949 parliamentary election, picking up three additional seats. But the Socialists gained 330,000 and 11 new seats over last year. There will be only 20 Liberal representatives and seven Stalinists (there were 23 Stalinists in 1946).

STILL UNSETTLED

A polarization of forces took place. The anti - labor vote was concentrated on the Catholics and the anti - Leopoldist vote mainly on the Socialist Party, with the Liberals and Stalinists the real losers. The SP made gains because its anti-Leopoldist policy became somewhat bolder in recent months and because Belgian labor, in two big political strikes, demonstrated its willingness to fight the pro-fascist king's return.

The Leopoldists, in control of Parliament, can now pass a vote ending the Regency. But a mere parliamentary decision is not enough to obtain acceptance of Leopold's return from the Belgian working class — which certainly has not become weaker since 1949. The reactionaries have already learned that they were mistaken in thinking they could proceed without difficulty in attacking the unions, lowering wages and gradually suppressing democratic rights.

The Belgian Trotskyist paper, **La Lutte Ouvriere**, summed the situation up aptly in its pre-election issue:

"The June 4 elections will take place under the menace of an absolute clerical majority getting control of the government. . . But the elections are not definitive in themselves; everything will depend finally on the militancy of the working class. Whatever the result of the election will be, we must work for a total mobilization of labor. . . No reactionary government will be able to resist for long a working class determined to fight in defense of its interests."

FRENCH YOUTH DEFY CP, GO AHEAD WITH PLANS FOR YUGOSLAV BRIGADE

PARIS — The central bureau of the national committee to initiate the sending of youth work brigades to Yugoslavia, which was organized April 9 and publishes a paper, The Brigade, held a press conference May 16 that was attended by a dozen French and foreign journalists. At this conference the bureau members described the activities and aims of the committee and replied to numerous questions from representatives of the press.

First tracing the circumstances leading to the creation of the National Initiating Committee, a Bureau member stated: "We have the sole aim of making known the truth about a country which is reviled today by its admirers of yesterday; it has no other supporters than the youth whose only weapon is their good faith. Our project has aroused in certain circles, and especially in the leadership of the French Communist party, strong indignation, recrimination, and even threats."

Over 1,500 Already Enrolled

The speakers then reviewed the different aspects of the campaign now being bitterly conducted by the Cominform partisans in France against the youths' departure to Yugoslavia, and declared: "We do not intend to permit ourselves to be moved by the accusations, the injuries and even the threats. On the contrary, we have decided to go forward to the end with our efforts, to reply to all the accusations directed against us and to justify the action we are undertaking in the eyes of world public opinion."

The campaign to send youth brigades to Yugoslavia this coming summer is enjoying great success, the speakers said. Over 1,500 youth have already enrolled to leave, although the campaign began only a month ago. Among these youth, despite Cominform pressure, are many brigadiers of the years 1947 and 1948. These veteran brigadiers compose half of the Central Bureau.

Replying to the journalists' questions, the speakers underlined that the National Initiating Committee was independent of all political parties, of all cultural groups, of all states and especially the Yugoslav state. Its resources, they said, come solely from the distribution of their paper, **The Brigade**, which is steadily growing, subsistence from the youth who enroll, income from various cultural and educational activities, as well as from a subscription list devised to permit less privileged youth to make the trip.

How the Committee Functions

To the question about discrimination of a political, religious or philosophical character on the part of the committee for recruiting the youth, the speakers replied that all youth without distinction of beliefs can participate in the work brigades in Yugoslavia, except for fascists and those who have displayed hostility towards socialism in general. These latter cannot be permitted to enter the brigade for the recruiting is conducted on the local levels by committees which have an effective control over candidates that they know.

Committees already exist in 47 departments of France; there are 7 departmental committees and numerous others are being constituted. Replying to another question, the speakers stated that numerous youth of North Africa and other colonial regions have already enrolled in the brigade as well as emigre foreign workers. The National Initiating Committee is already in contact with similar committees in England, Holland and other countries, and got some of these contacts from the Peoples Youth of Yugoslavia.

Will Make the Truth Known

To the inquiry whether it was correct, as the French Communist Party press states, that the 1950 brigade will be employed on military projects in Yugoslavia, the speakers replied that was a pure calumny and that the young people will actually participate in the building of the University City of New Belgrade.

After announcing that the departures will occur between July 1 and Sept. 15 and that the extent of the stay in Yugoslavia will be one month, with 15 days' free travelling within the country, the speakers concluded with these words:

"Since the end of the war it has become a tradition for progressive youth of different countries to be invited to each of the popular democracies to participate in the building of socialism. The 1950 brigade to Yugoslavia will have a special character owing to the intense campaign of denigration led by the leaders of certain organizations; they will answer the questions confronting numerous young people and upon their return will make known the truth about Yugoslavia to all the workers of France."

Why Crisis Persists in Buffer Countries

By Michel Pablo

If mass disillusionment with the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries comes from an indirect, negative experience with Stalinism during a period filled with revolutionary opportunities, the disillusionment of the masses in the buffer countries of Eastern Europe arises from direct experience with Stalinism in power.

It would be even more correct to say that this experience began with the Red Army's entry into these countries, the strangling of the spontaneous revolutionary mass movements following that entry, and the bureaucratic way in which the Stalinist apparatus installed itself through tortuous patterns in place of the economic and political apparatus of the bourgeoisie, while maintaining its control over the masses.

"JOYS" OF STALINISM

These peoples have made acquaintance with the Stalinist "revolution" and the joyous regime of the "People's Democracy" through the introduction of piecework, growing inequality of wages, increased working hours, tight military discipline in the factories, constant political surveillance and herding into the parties and the trade unions where no collective elaboration of policy is permitted and even any discussion or criticism of the line is forbidden. Now and then a Rajk or Kostov trial breaks the monotony of this life and enlightens the masses on the diabolical plots hatched by the most prominent Communist Party chiefs in cahoots with the imperialists. All these admirable "socialist" forms, methods and stage effects cannot fail to enrapture the advanced proletariat of Prague, Leipzig, Vienna and Budapest.

It is naturally difficult to determine just how great is the discontent of the masses toward these regimes, which are loathsome caricatures of the proletarian dictatorship, since the farcical plebiscites in which 99.999% of the votes favor the government are worthless. On the other hand, the complaints published in the press of these countries regarding passive resistance of the population and the severe measures taken to combat this indicate the obstacles facing the Stalinist apparatus in its efforts at "socialist" re-education of the masses, and of the proletariat in particular.

From the viewpoint of the Stalinist crisis in these countries, the most important events are the purges carried out in the Communist Parties, together with the trials of many top leaders. In Albania: Koxi Dodge, secretary of the party, condemned and hung. In Bulgaria: Kostov, party secretary, suffered the same fate. In Poland: Gomulka, secretary of the Party, expelled. In Rumania: Patrascanu, member of the Political Bureau, expelled. In Czechoslovakia, Wilhelm Novy, expelled, and Milan Reimann a "suicide"—both members of the Central Committee. Numerous other leading figures in these parties have met with the same fate, while hundreds of second-rank militants, caught in the net of the purge, have ended up in prisons and concentration camps.

MOST POPULAR PURGED

On the other hand, since Belgrade's break with the Cominform, about 5,300 individuals, mostly worker and peasant CP members, have crossed over into Yugoslavia, coming from Albania (1,418), Hungary (1,930), Bulgaria (1,031) and Rumania (942). (Tanjug Bulletin, Paris, Jan. 30.)

In Bulgaria, hardest hit by the purges, the members with the greatest popular following in the Bulgarian CP, who remained in the country during the war (like Kostov) and who led the party in struggle before as well as during the war—such as Dobri Terpechev, Yuugov, Chankov, Taola, Dragoicheva—are all in disgrace. Terpechev has been expelled from the CP Political Bureau to which he had belonged since the occupation. K. Dobrey was removed from the list of candidates to the Political Bureau. At the last plenum of the Central Committee eight members, elected by the Fifth Congress of the party in 1948, were expelled. The purge reached down into the very base of the party.

Czechoslovakia is currently experiencing a purge of similar scope, while in Poland an intensified campaign is under way against Gomulka, Spychaski and Zenon Liszka, who were expelled last November from the party's central committee.

WHERE IT HITS HARDEST

Generally speaking, the purge is more sweeping in those CP's which represented a force before the war, which had close ties with the masses in their countries, such as the Bulgarian and Czech Communist Parties and, to a certain degree, the Polish Workers Party. (Both the Czech and Polish CP's include an important number of former Social Democrats compelled to merge with the Stalinists.)

Moreover the purge is primarily aimed at the leaders most closely connected with the wartime struggles led by these parties. These facts are highly significant for understanding the crisis of Stalinism in the buffer countries. We are here witnessing a new phenomenon which opens up new perspectives on the evolution of Stalinism as a whole. Experience shows, both by what is happening in the buffer countries and particularly in the case of Yugoslavia, that Communist Parties, once in power, tend to balk, even to put up resistance—at least in certain of its leading circles—against the crass, outright exploitation (economic and otherwise) of these countries by the Kremlin bureaucracy.

These manifestations of resistance in the very top circles of the CP's and especially among the leaders closest to the party rank and file and to the masses of the country can be regarded as the bureaucratically distorted echo of the resistance of the masses themselves to the Kremlin's policies in the buffer zone. The more closely a Communist Party is linked with the masses, the greater is the resistance to "Russianification" and the more violent becomes the reaction of the Kremlin, transmitted through its trusted agents in these countries.

The Kremlin, mindful of the danger and favored by the present relationship of forces, does not remain with arms folded; it reacts by smashing these parties and replacing them by mere machines of functionaries directly managed and controlled by the GPU. That is the meaning of the struggle waged in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland—the three buffer countries where the CP represented, and still represents, a real force.

CASE OF YUGOSLAVIA

The same process was under way in Yugoslavia, and if it failed, that is due for one thing to the greater homogeneity and capacity of the opposition encountered by the Kremlin—actually a solid front of opposition by the whole Yugoslav party and leadership.

Such is the dynamic of the crisis of Stalinism in the buffer zones, from which, in our opinion, we must draw these two principal conclusions:

(1) The forces tending to escape the Kremlin and its control will be come more pronounced to the degree that the Communist Parties become more involved with the responsibilities of state power and the reconstruction of the country, and seek to avoid losing contact with the masses. On the other hand, it will be difficult for them to stay in power and ignore the reactions of the masses at least before the hardening of a bureaucracy comparable to the one in the USSR and capable of crushing all opposition. Even in such an eventuality, friction with the Kremlin would be inevitable.

(2) The Kremlin will strive to replace the Communist Parties, in sofar as they retain the slightest autonomy as political organisms, with machines directly managed and controlled by itself.

STABILIZATION EXCLUDED

The collision of these two tendencies is responsible for the crisis on the level of the Communist Parties. Its outcome depends on the evolution of the whole international situation. In any case, despite the relatively unfavorable conditions at present for the emergence of a new 'Titoism,' i.e., an organized and victorious opposition, in any other country of the buffer zone, the possibility of the Kremlin's achieving a stabilization of the buffer regions and crushing all opposition under its iron heel is excluded. The most probable variant is that of a long, convulsive unfolding of the crisis in the buffer zone, one trial after another, one purge after another. Through this crisis, the masses in the buffer countries and in the world at large will arrive at an understanding of the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism.

(The third article in this series will be printed next week.)

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIV — MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1950 — NUMBER 24

Stalinists Rewrite History

By Joseph Keller

No crime of the American Stalinists has returned to plague them more than their perfidious support of Roosevelt's use of the Smith Act to railroad 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO leaders to prison during the war.

Not only was the Minneapolis precedent used in the recent trial and conviction of 11 Communist Party leaders, but the CP's record in the Minneapolis case and its continued opposition to civil rights for Trotskyists have alienated potential labor and liberal support for the defense of the convicted Stalinists.

This was one of the key issues that threatened to split the Wallaceites and the Stalinists at the Progressive Party convention in February.

The Stalinists are now trying desperately to "explain" away their actions in the Minneapolis case. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the CP National Committee, attempts this unsavory chore in a recent CP pamphlet, The Plot to Gag America, which deals primarily with the Smith Act.

Her "explanation" is that "while disassociating ourselves from these defendants (the Minneapolis 18) and their acts and views, we Communists joined in the protest made by many labor organizations and progressive individuals at the time .... The statement that the Communists did not oppose the Smith Act at that time and before is obviously untrue."

Her sole "evidence" is a quotation from an article on the Smith Act by Milton Howard, published in the Daily Worker on Aug. 16, 1941, before the trial and conviction of the Trotskyists. But the issue is what the Stalinists wrote during and after the trial.

The Daily Worker ran scores of venomous attacks on the labor and liberal defense of the 18. A number of these were quoted verbatim by Irving Abramson, eastern regional director of the CIO, in a letter he sent the Worker on May 16, 1949, but which it did not dare to publish.

Abramson quoted, for instance, the June 6, 1944, Daily Worker, which said editorially: "Those informed of what the Trotskyites are doing would no more associate their names with their defense than they would go on behalf of the seditionists now on trial in Washington. . . Labor has complained only because more of their kind. . . were not put behind bars."

This was written after labor and liberal organizations representing more than five million members had voted support for the Minneapolis victims.

On June 12, 1944, the Daily Worker injected a touch of lynch spirit: "Any labor leader who defends them [the 18] ought to be made to answer to his membership. . . It is time to put a swift stop to that sort of thing."

For those who fail to swallow the blatant lie about the Stalinists opposing the use of the Smith Act against the Trotskyists, Miss Flynn inserts a couple of other lies. Anyway, she says, the Trotskyists were not convicted "under the thought-control section" of the Smith Act but for "overt acts of an anti-war character."

Actually, the Minneapolis 18 were acquitted of all charges of "overt" acts, which were brought under an old Civil War "sedition" law. They were convicted under the Smith Act on a count, almost identical with that in the later Stalinist case, which stated that the 18 "did **advocate, abet, advise and teach** the duty" of "overthrowing and destroying the Government by force and violence."

We don't have to go back to the Minneapolis case, however, to know where the Stalinists stand on civil rights for their working class political opponents. Right now they continue to refuse to defend civil rights for members of the Socialist Workers Party, including James Kutcher, the legless veteran purged from the VA.

The pamphlet by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn shows that under pressure and exposure the Stalinists have slightly changed their words, but they haven't changed their tune. They remain vicious, if more concealed, opponents of civil rights for Trotskyists. Thereby they continue to give the chief pretext to union leaders and liberals to refuse to defend the civil rights of victimized Stalinists.

The NAACP Convention: II

By Jean Blake

A basic weakness of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it is commonly agreed, is its lack of the internal democracy necessary for effective utilization of its strength as the largest and most authoritative mass organization devoted to the struggle for full equality for Negroes in the United States.

Delegates to the 41st annual conference of the NAACP in Boston June 20-24 will have to deal with various manifestations of this problem.

At last year's conference in Los Angeles the delegates took an extraordinary action. They passed a resolution calling for mass action as the most effective means of winning civil rights legislation and rejected reliance on "friends" in Congress and on the President.

Not even depending on the NAACP national leadership, the delegates themselves arranged for the setting up of an emergency civil liberties committee to initiate a national campaign to culminate in a mobilization on Washington.

Leaving no doubt as to the militant character proposed for this mobilization, the resolution stated that the aim of the committee should be "to produce the greatest outpouring of Negroes and their allies in the labor movement, among the church, civic, fraternal organizations, fraternities, sororities, national groups and citizens from every walk of life to the end that both the President and Congress shall feel the wrath and demand of the people for the speedy enactment of a comprehensive civil rights program." (My emphasis — J.B.)

The resolution was remarkable in more ways than one. It reflected forcefully the deep-going antagonism the Negro masses feel for the rulers of this country who perpetuate the system of legal discrimination while demagogically demanding loyalty to "democracy." It also showed the desire and readiness of the Negro people for mass action to express their wrath and demands.

And particularly significant for the struggle for democratization of the NAACP itself, in adopting such a policy and action resolution the delegates were asserting an authority which the undemocratic constitution and structure of the organization reserves for the national board of directors.

Resolutions aimed at placing control of Association policies directly in the hands of the membership, by making the convention rather than the board of directors the highest authority of the organization, were defeated.

In the Washington mobilization held in January, the NAACP succeeded in organizing a broad united front for the struggle for civil rights legislation, but instead of the militant force last year's convention called for, the gathering in the nation's capital was simply an enlarged lobbying session. Minority political parties were arbitrarily banned while the delegates were compelled to listen politely to more promises from representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Unimpressed by this type of "mass action," the House then proceeded to throw out the Powell FEPC bill the mobilization wanted and pass the McConnell substitute, a useless "voluntary" measure.

Delegates to the Boston convention should reject the weak policy substituted for the militant mass action outlined last year, and reaffirm the position taken at that time. But they must also take steps to democratize the NAACP and make the leadership responsible to them if they wish to see the will of the membership carried out.

Delegates should defeat a proposal already submitted which would substitute bi-annual conferences for the yearly gathering now held, and should oppose, as the New York State conference has already done, the dangerous tendency to set up rival branches in a city or area where a branch exists, in order to circumvent policy differences.

The NAACP cannot improve its internal democracy or external effectiveness by taking a leaf from the book of reactionary CIO and AFL bureaucrats who purge and expel their critics and set up rival unions when they cannot win acceptance of their policies by the ranks.

The next article in this series will deal with the most important problem facing the delegates at the forthcoming convention — political action.

5 UNIONISTS CONVICTED AT BELL AIRCRAFT TRIAL

(Continued from Page 1)

"guilty" verdict which it subsequently brought out.

TO BE APPEALED

The verdict is being appealed and it is hoped that the local labor movement will organize widespread support for them throughout the whole country. This is especially important in view of the fact that more indictments are pending. Those unionists previously convicted on civil and criminal contempt charges arising out of the bitter 18 week long strike still have their cases on appeal.

During the strike, the Bell Aircraft Corporation mobilized the whole governmental apparatus of the state from the local sheriff and his deputized hooligans up to and including Governor Dewey, who advised District Attorney Miller and his aides to go ahead and use their "unlimited authority" against the strikers.

There then began a reign of terror and violence against the Bell pickets, followed by indiscriminate arrests of strikers and their leaders and the setting of bail totaling more than one quarter of a million dollars.

AN OBJECT LESSON

The Bell Aircraft convictions stand as an object lesson to those union officials, especially the top UAW leaders in this region, who refused to understand the nature of the sharp class cleavage which the Bell strike engendered and the massive array of governmental terror which the company could marshal on its behalf.

The union leaders contented themselves with half measures and shrank from a campaign to involve the entire Buffalo labor movement. This only led to the inevitable capitulation by the strike leaders. They thought that this in turn would lessen the vengefulness of the company and appease the government authorities.

The militants correctly warned that this was a false course. They insisted the strike settlement should contain a guarantee that the company would drop all pending prosecutions and that all strikers would return without discrimination or victimizations. Instead, the UAW leaders signed an agreement under which an arbitration board was given the power to decide the fate of 22 militants whom the company sought to victimize.

Of these 22, the board gave the company the green light to fire six as "poor security risks." The fate of others is still pending and the civil and criminal prosecutions inspired by the company are running their course without letup.

Rogge Barred As Speaker

(Continued from Page 1)

cifically the United States and the Soviet Union. Neither American capitalism nor Russian communism is to be imposed on any other country."

It was to be expected that the Stalinists would refuse to adopt such a resolution. But they did more than that. They decided to bar Rogge from delivering a speech he was scheduled to make at a public rally in London on June 1. This means that Rogge is now definitely on the Stalinist blacklist.

The significance of this new development, especially for the future of the Progressive Party, will be better understood if it is recalled that only four months ago both Rogge and Robeson personally participated in the "informal" conferences over "controversial issues," held prior to the second national convention of the Progressive Party in Chicago.

Those conferences worked out a deal which postponed a split in the Wallaceite movement. Since then, the Communist Party National Committee has reconsidered its endorsement of many aspects of that deal and sharpened its criticisms of the non-Stalinists. What happened in London last week is additional proof of the growing strains that are pulling the two wings of the Progressive Party further and further apart.

Beginning of Japan Purge

U. S. military police move in on a demonstration outside the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. Eight were arrested after trying to seize notes of a Japanese plainclothesman copying down statements of a Stalinist speaker. A few days later MacArthur began his "communist" purge.

N. Y. TEACHERS RESIST PRESSURE AND THREATS

By Ruth Johnson

NEW YORK, June 5 — The city high school teachers, who for seven long weeks have stopped all extra-curricular work, are standing firm in their unique strike for a $600 annual wage increase. Threats, ultimatums, red-baiting, suspension of eight members, and even the outlawing of one of their unions, have all failed to intimidate the teachers.

Using the CIO's bureaucratic expulsion of the United Public Workers as an excuse for opposing the Teachers Union in New York, a UPW affiliate, the Board of Education now arrogantly declares that it is "under no obligation" to deal with "any organizations." It flatly asserts that it will bargain only with such unions as it considers "in the best interests of the teachers."

The action was so raw that one board member, Charles J. Bensley, felt compelled to protest. While he assailed the militancy of the teachers and begged them to be "disciplined," he warned the board:

WHAT IS NEXT STEP?

"We cannot lose sight of the fact that the resolution before us is alien to our fundamental American rights and does violence to our democratic procedures. It is not for the Board of Education to say to our teachers who shall or shall not represent them. We who believe in democracy should not weaken it by employing undemocratic procedures. . .

"If the privilege of representation by the Teachers Union is denied now, what then is the next logical step? Conceivably, any member of the Board of Education who finds himself in disagreement on any issue with any teachers' organization, may then introduce a similar resolution on the grounds that such organization is disruptive."

The Board, however, worries about neither democratic procedures nor legality. It ignores even its own rules in the vicious attack on the Teachers Union.

PICK MORGAN MAN

After suspending eight teachers for refusing to say whether they were or were not members of the Communist Party, the Board appointed an outsider as Trial Examiner to hear the appeals. The rules require that hearings be held by the Commissioner of Education and the courts. A bill which would have legalized outside examiners was rejected by the last State Legislature. Nevertheless, the Board contends it is free to create any posts it chooses and hire any assistants it wants.

The man appointed to the new job is Theodore W Kiendl, partner in the corporation law firm headed by John W. Davis, one-time Democratic candidate for President. The firm is an affiliate of the Morgan interests.

While this wealthy city pleads poverty as the reason for rejecting the teachers' wage demand, it is paying the wealthy Kiendl $1,800 a month to act as Trial Examiner, sitting in judgment on the underpaid employees. The Board has also found funds for other favorites.

In the 1950-51 budget which the Board approved last week, Superintendent of Schools William Jansen is given a fat $7,500 yearly increase; school principals get $1,000 to $2,000 annual increases; the teachers are offered meager $150 to $200 annual raises, plus a "fact-finding board" to "study the situation."

LABOR SHOULD ACT

The teachers reject this miserly offer, and point out that the facts of their need are already known. They refuse to resume supervision of the social, athletic and club activities, which is unpaid work conducted after school hours, until their increase is won.

The mass demonstrations of thousands of students at City Hall in April gave the teachers' strike nation-wide publicity and tremendous moral support. What is needed now is the additional help of the labor movement.

The CIO and AFL have so far watched in silence, letting the O'Dwyer machine slash away at the teachers' rights. If the City of New York is allowed to outlaw the Teachers' Union and tear up the rule-books, no civic employee will be secure in the future.

Starvation Amidst Plenty-- Farm Labor in California

Misery Stalks Central Valley While Growers Profits Soar

By Fred Johnson

In the heart of California, the Golden State and traditionally the land of promise, there lies the great Central Valley, 500 miles long and 50 miles wide. Once a desolation of swamps and deserts, it has by irrigation and drainage been transformed into the richest agricultural area in the world.

It embraces 18 counties and 83 modern towns and cities and supports a population of 1,500,000 people. Its ranches, orchards, vineyards and dairies annually give forth a crop worth $650,000,000.

The profits gleaned from its unlimited bounty support one of the richest, most powerful aristocracies in the nation. Yet, for the 200,000 farm laborers who produce the wealth of its major industry, the valley remains a desolation of broken promises, hunger and despair.

PROFITS AND MISERY

From the beginning of its development, California's agriculture has been dominated by large-scale operations. The small family-worked farm has been the exception rather than the rule. Spanish land grants, large-scale land speculation, federal handouts to the railroads and the necessity for large capital investments to develop the land have combined to produce a pattern of land holdings resembling the feudal latifundia in size.

The methods of operation and the social consequences are, however, classically capitalist. The ranches of the central valley are operated on a factory basis. Workers are hired at piece work or hourly rates for short, intensive periods of work. The most modern methods and machinery are used. The output of the land is fabulously high and so are the profits.

The workers enjoy none of the traditional advantages of country life, not even those of the "hired hand." They must provide their own transportation to work and buy their food at city prices (or higher). They are also deprived of the gains which the city industrial workers have made. They enjoy no seniority, unemployment insurance, old age benefits, health and accident insurance or minimum wage.

The hourly rates even for highly skilled workers such as irrigators, tractor drivers, etc., run about 80c. per hour. For the field workers they are frequently much lower. Piece rates are so low that only an exceptional worker can make a decent daily wage. Even then life is hard because of seasonal unemployment.

STARVE AMIDST PLENTY

A family is regarded as a working unit. In order to survive the long periods of unemployment, every member of the family must work when work is to be had. Nothing "extra" is paid the worker for support of children or aged. Everyone must contribute his or her share to the coffers of the corporation farmers or starve.

Last winter the number of absolutely destitute workers and their families was most conservatively estimated at 15,000. News stories telling of the starvation deaths of 28 children in this rich food producing area shocked the nation.

A rash of articles, features and editorials (most of them sympathetic to the workers) appeared both locally and nationally. A congressional investigation was launched from Washington. The largest chain of newspapers in the valley did a series of articles on the subject. An appeal was made to Governor Warren for a special investigation. He responded and the investigation is now under way.

WAVE OF STRUGGLE

With all of this the families in the valley continued their difficult existence through the winter with little or no aid, and now as the working season gets under way, the most optimistic observers predict that there will be less jobs, lower wages, and a more difficult winter next year.

Along with the working season and the dire predictions comes news that the workers in the valley are beginning a new wave of struggles to better their conditions themselves. The cotton choppers in Fresno county are on strike against wages of 55 to 65 cents per hour. They are asking 85 cents.

There is no lack of sympathy for the workers even among the small farmers and townspeople of the Valley. But for the large farming interests who dominate its economy and its officials, profits are king, and from the standpoint of profits this is the best of all possible worlds.

The industrial barons of the nation could wish for no more "favorable" labor situation than that which prevails in California's Central Valley. The conditions in this industry are a mirror of what the rest of the working class can expect if the capitalists have their way.

Fresno Strikers Face Evictions, Appeal for Aid

FRESNO, Calif. — **The AFL National Farm Labor Union has called on Governor Earl Warren to bring pressure on the large cotton growers in the West Side of Fresno County to halt wholesale evictions of hundreds of striking farm workers.**

The union has been on strike several weeks against wage rates of 55 to 65 cents per hour. It has demanded 85 cents.

William Swearingen, Fresno County organizer for the AFL National Farm Labor Union, reported:

FACING EVICTION

"The Murietta Farms Company, a Giffen holding, has served eviction notices on 40 Mexican-American families involving some 175 men, women and children. This is in one camp alone. We expect similar action to follow in other camps on the Giffen properties."

He said that the workers who are striking against the 65-cent chopping wage have resided in the Giffen Camp the year round. "We are notifying the Governor that this is a most cruel and heartless action. The growers are now feeling the impact of the strike and now intend to force people to work under threat of eviction."

The union originally appealed to the Board of Supervisors of the county, but they refused to intervene. It also appealed to the Fresno County Chamber of Commerce, but was told "no strikes" existed.

HELP NEEDED

"These eviction notices are positive proof that there is an effective strike on," Swearingen said, "and, further, the responsibility for the strike falls directly in the hands of the growers and certain county agencies who refused to meet with the union and settle the matter peaceably."

The 3,200 strikers are facing dire want and need immediate material aid from the labor movement if they are not to be starved back to work. The National Farm Labor Union is appealing for funds. You can help by sending contributions to the Farm Labor Relief Committee, Room 7, Labor Temple, 2219 Fresno Street, Fresno, California.

If Your Paper Arrives Late, Don't Blame Us--Or Mailman

By Joseph Hansen

If your copy of **The Militant** is arriving unusually late, we ask you not to blame us. The fault's not ours. Don't blame the mail man either. Things have been pretty rough for him too since June 1. And don't blame the other workers in the Post Office. Packages and letters and circulars and newspapers are gummed up worse than ever and no more hope of extra help.

Blame Congress and the Pendergast politician who's having the White House remodelled.

CAUSE OF DELAY

Here's the cause of the delay in getting your paper. Wall Street wants to get on with the preparations for another war. That means more dollars by the billion which Congress gladly appropriates, a good part of it out of the taxes deducted from your wages.

But Congress is also economy-minded. Don't laugh. They really are. Once they've dumped so much money into the war machine that the country is well on the road to bankruptcy, they start swinging the economy axe on everything in sight that's got anything to do with the welfare of the people.

That includes the Post Office since they're engaged in delivering mail and not atom bombs. If it was handling atom bombs you can be sure the Post Office would be doing right well in the way of appropriations. But not letters or newspapers.

So Congress took a big whack out of the funds to run the Post Office. This is on top of forcing the Post Office to carry all mail of Congressmen to their constituents free of charge. (Rest of the government gets it free too.) And the head of the Post Office, who is a Truman man naturally, passes it on down the line in the way of curtailment of services that went into effect June 1. That's why the Post Office is now snafued and your mail arrives with that aged-in-the-mail-bag look.

The Militant is especially hard hit. Used to be we could deliver the paper to the Post Office as soon as it came off the press. Then it kind of worked its way along the under-manned, overworked belt line. Now the Post Office says we can't deliver at night. Not being a big powerful newspaper we've got to hold over and deliver it next day.

The big ones, naturally, don't have any trouble like that. They get a special dispensation (no extra charge of course) and can deliver any time. After all, it's THEIR government isn't it?

LET CONGRESSMAN KNOW

Ordinarily we don't ask any of our readers to write their Congressman as we expect that they're going to vote against him anyway. In this case, however, if you feel a slow burn about the delay in your mail and want to work off some of the heat, drop a note to your Congressman letting him know before election what he would otherwise not discover until the ballots are counted.

If we're living in the richest and most efficient country in the world, why can't we get our mail on time?

CHICAGO EDUCATORS AID KUTCHER

CHICAGO, June 6 — **Seven prominent members of the Roosevelt College faculty here today initiated a movement among their colleagues to support the civil rights defense campaign of James Kutcher, the legless veteran fired for "disloyalty" from his Veterans Administration job because of admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party.**

The seven faculty members have signed and are circulating among the rest of the faculty for their signatures a statement calling for support of Kutcher and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, who have challenged the Truman "loyalty" purge as unconstitutional in a civil suit filed recently in the U. S. District Court at Washington, D. C.

Original signers of the statement are: Prof. Frank McCallister, Director of Labor Education Division; Prof. George H. Watson, Chairman of the Department of Political Science; Prof. Otto Wirth, Chairman, Cultural Studies Courses; Prof. Helmut Hirsch; Prof. Emery W. Balduf, Dean of Student Services; Prof. Charles A. Orr and Prof. Abba P. Lerner.

"SERIOUS INVASION"

Their statement says:

"We, the undersigned members of the faculty of Roosevelt College, are disturbed by the state of civil liberties today. The arbitrary establishment of a 'subversive list' on the say-so of one man — former Attorney-General Clark — and the consequent development of the 'loyalty' purge program based on this list, constitutes a serious invasion of our traditional democratic rights and freedoms.

"We therefore join those who have raised their voices against the arbitrary firing of James Kutcher from his job as a filing clerk with the Veterans Administration in Newark, N. J. James Kutcher should have had the public hearing for which he asked and which was denied him by the Veterans Administration.

"We endorse the efforts of James Kutcher and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee in their endeavor to right the wrong he has suffered — especially his suit in the Federal courts which is now pending. We have read the statement of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee accompanying its appeal for funds, and we urge everyone to give his fullest consideration and support."

This statement has been mimeographed with a form included which can be signed by other faculty members and authorizes their signatures to be added.

Class on Socialism Held in Newark Every Wed. Eve

NEWARK — A class on "Socialism — What It Is and How to Get It" is held every Wednesday evening at 8:30 P. M. at Socialist Workers Party headquarters, 423 Springfield Ave.